l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

202 832 211 [276]

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

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A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

202 721

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

623

a [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 378. - Analyst]

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the nature of their crimes, if not publicly, still privately, for they are considered as a nuisance, and a disgrace to the nation, and so much so were persons of this description considered and despised in former times among the Delawares, before the white people came, that it was a rare thing to hear of any such being among them. This I have repeatedly been told, between the years 1770 and 1780, by Indians of that nation; one of whom, when a boy, resided on the spot where Philadelphia now stands, when the first house was building there, and assisted in furnishing the workmen with fish, and caught rabbits for them; the other, who was still older, lived with his parents on the spot where afterwards was built Perth Amboy in New Jersey: both were respectable men, highly esteemed by all who knew them.

I do not believe that there exists a people, more attentive to paying common civilities to each other, than the Indians are; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where, in the first instance, he is desired to seat himself, with the words, "sit down my friend!" if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visiters, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit

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which our aborigines do not hesitate to make, that before the Europeans landed in those parts of the American continent, they were unacquainted with that shameful disorder which attacks generation in its sources. I am well aware that this complaint is generally believed to have been communicated by the new world to the old. I do not know upon what proofs this opinion rests, but I am disposed to give credit to the uniform assertion of our northern Indians, that this contagion was first introduced among them by emigrants from Europe. However it may be, it is a lamentable fact that they are now very generally infected with it, and that their population can not long resist its destructive operation upon their once strong and healthy constitutions, particularly as it is associated with the abuse of strong liquors, now so prevalent among them.

Of the manner in which they have acquired this latter vice, I presume there can be no doubt. They charge us in the most positive manner with being the first who made them acquainted with ardent spirits, and what is worse, with having exerted all the means in our power to induce them to drink to excess. It is very certain that the processes of distillation and fermentation are entirely unknown to the Indians, and that they have among them no intoxicating liquors but such as they receive from us. The Mexicans have their *Pulque*, and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature, but the North American Indians, before their intercourse with us commenced, had absolutely nothing of the kind. The smoke of the American weed, tobacco, was the only means that they at that time had in use to produce a temporary exhilaration of their spirits.

I have related in a former chapter,* the curious account given by the Delawares and Mohicans of the scene which took place when they were first made to taste spirituous liquors by the Dutch who landed on New York

* See ch. 2.

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on the skin; the operator with a small stick, rather larger than a common match, to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened, quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn, then a coat of this powder is laid and left on to dry. Before the whites came into this country, they scarified themselves for this purpose with flint stones, or pricked themselves with the sharp teeth of a fish.[155]

The men tatooed their arms, legs, and faces with figures of snakes, birds, and other animals. These were marks of distinction and commemorated some worthy deed or heroic action. Occasionally the women tattooed themselves.[156]

Both sexes painted their thighs, legs, breast, and face with streaks, lines, or circles. The usual colors were red, black, blue, and yellow.[157] Painting was mostly for festive occasions or for warfare. Women were more circumspect than men in the amount of paint used, since excessive or immodest painting was regarded as indicative of a wanton woman.[158] Both men and women wore numerous ornaments. Wampum in particular was a favorite; it was used as necklaces and wristlets and was hung from the ears. Sometimes it was woven in bands and worn on the head or clothing.[159] The helixes of men's ears were often pierced for wampum, metal, and other ornaments:

> They frequently cut the helix of the ear,[160] leaving the upper and lower ends intact and then hang bits of lead to it so that it is stretched. Then this curved border of the auricle is bound with brass wire, distending it considerably, and decorated with silver ornaments.[161]

Besides wampum, necklaces of dyed deer hair, stone, native copper, and shell gorgets were worn.[162] One source depicted men wearing "the thumbs of enemies they have killed."[163] Men carried tobacco pouches, often made from the whole skin of a loon, large enough to hold a pipe, tobacco, knife, a pair of depilatory shells, and other objects.[164]

Manufactures.—The bow and arrow, the war club or tomahawk, and the spear were the principal implements of the men.[165] The type of bow used is unknown, except for one vague reference to wooden bows and arrows.[166] The triangular stone projectile points were fastened to the shaft by means of resin.[167] Projectile points were usually made of quartz, but chert, slate, shale, granite, sandstone, and argillite points have been found. Some may even have been made of fish bones.[168] Stone, pottery, and copper pipes were noted, both from early documents and

[155] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206.
[156] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 11.
[157] De Vries, 1909, p. 217; Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Denton, 1845, p. 10.
[158] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203.
[159] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 196-97.
[160] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 207; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 107.
[161] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 12.
[162] Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye and Pepper, 1915, pp. 32-42; Holm, 1834, p. 119.
[163] Holm, 1834, p. 119; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301.
[164] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 68; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 204.
[165] Brinton, 1885, p. 53.
[166] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[167] De Laet, 1909, p. 48; Holm, 1834, p. 129; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29.
[168] Smith, 1950, p. 119; De Laet, 1909, p. 57.

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from archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares. Copper tobacco pipes were recorded early in the seventeenth century by Juet who said: "They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes."[167] Lindestrom described the pipes as painted and said that there were some "an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on. . .and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco."[168] In another place he indicated that pipe heads were decorated with birds and animals "very beautifully painted and glazed."[169] Holm said that the pipes were "a fathom long, which they lean upon as a stick."[170] The pottery pipes found in archaeological sites were plainer, being "straight conical tubes, plain or stamped, to elbow-shaped forms decorated with incised or stamped lines."[171] De Laet said they had ". . .tubes for smoking tobacco formed. . .of flint stone ingeniously perforated."[172] Stone pipes, however, are relatively rare in archaeological sites.[173]

Agricultural implements of the women were simple; short-handled hoes were fashioned with a blade of dogwood, stone, tortoise shell, or the scapula of a deer (later bison).[174] The scapula hoe is remembered by living Delawares. The Delawares had pottery vessels, and according to archaeological information the paste varied from fine to medium coarse, grit temper was more common than shell temper, and sherds are usually gray or brown. Vessels had "conical and rounded bottoms" and were "straight walled or rounded." Shoulders were often absent, although some had pronounced shoulders when associated with a collared rim. Decoration, if present, was by roughening with a cord-wrapped paddle. Incised decorative designs were frequent.[175] Containers and other utensils were fashioned of wood, shell, bark, gourds, and tortoise shell.[176] Stone tools are common in archaeological deposits and include "plain or pitted hammerstones, anvil stones, abrading stones, sinew stones, pestles, shallow mortars, choppers (or hoes), picks, netsinkers, paint stones and amorphous pieces of mica."[177] They possessed "stone hatchets" that were hafted to a handle, and another type which was neither grooved nor hafted.[178] The women and old men manufactured the mats, ropes, tump lines, and baskets, which were made from wild hemp, nettle, silkweed, spruce roots, cornhusks, ash splints, papaw bark, elm bast, and rushes. Wooden bowls, dishes, and mortars were made of maple, buckeye, and elm wood.[179] Speck has described fully the block

[167] Juet, 1909, pp. 18-19; De Laet, 1909, p. 49.
[168] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[170] Holm, 1834, p. 120.
[171] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[172] De Laet, 1909, p. 57.
[173] Butler, 1947, p. 252.
[174] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Jemison, 1918, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 28; Mahr, 1954, pp. 385-86.
[175] Smith, 1950, pp. 117-18.
[176] Pastorius, 1912, p. 384; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 255; Johnson, 1917, p. 281; Speck, 1941, pp. 47, 78-79; Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[177] Smith, 1950, p. 119.
[178] Kalm, 1937, I: 229.
[179] Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 221; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Harrington, 1913, p. 224.

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final day of the ceremony. At the time of the wartime meetings there were no women left who had had visions. Perhaps this is why they were called upon to offer prayers instead.

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There was friction in at least one of the meetings since the leader, J.W., sold the scarce, virtually sacred wampum donated by other Delawares. The people who purchased the wampum were frequently strangers or curiosity seekers; they were seldom donors. Friction also occurred when some peyotists prayed in their fashion. One individual said of this friction:

> Ben Hill asked people to get up and pray — to pray to the fire. Nobody did for awhile so I got up. I prayed like a white preacher does, but in Indian. I prayed to the fire, and asked that all the boys be returned safely. I prayed that my boy would come back safe. I went on praying and I got to crying. Then I sat down. Then E. J. got up and prayed the same way, then a man. After that T.M. got up and said he didn't believe you could pray that way in this meeting. I felt so funny, I was crushed. I didn't go back after that. (O.A.)

[206] ●

The form of prayer that O.A. described is common in the local version of the Big Moon peyote cult, with the exception that in the peyote ceremony the prayer is accompanied by the smoking of a Bull Durham cornhusk cigarette.

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Even with what little is known about the wartime Big House ceremonies it is plain that they were more a reflection of the old rites than a faithful duplication of them. They lasted twelve days, visions were recited, some venison was eaten, but in almost every other respect they were changed. The few young people who attended did not know where to sit; even if they knew their phratry membership they probably did not know where that phratry belonged in the meeting house. The arbor was a poor substitute for the log Big House; there was room for only one fire, and the carved heads were missing. There could be no hunt for deer, because there were no deer. In one meeting O.A. persuaded a rancher to contribute a deer, but it was impossible to feed the participants for twelve days with one deer.

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After 1924 the Big House Ceremony withered away. It was briefly revived because of the stimulus of the second world war, but this revival was only a dim reflection of the original ceremony. Joe Washington and Ben Hill, the spark plugs of the wartime meetings, are dead. The few remaining participants who are familiar with the ritual are old and are not imparting their knowledge to others; and many Delawares who formerly participated have focused their attentions on the peyote cult. Informants gave two reasons why they preferred peyotism to the traditional religious forms: first, peyotism is cheap, but in the Big House Ceremony the "Bringer-in" is primarily responsible for the cost which in 1930 was one hundred and fifty dollars.[8] In a peyote meeting the cost is negligible in comparison and is often shared by the participants. Second, only Delawares can participate in the Big House Ceremony, and individual Delawares often have only a few Delaware friends,

[8] Speck, 1931, p. 24.

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135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

[276] There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

317 276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [213] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

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one present draws a few whiffs of smoke and this is called smoking the peace-pipe.

There are four kinds of clay. There is the white, which is almost like chalk and with which, when dry, one can write as with chalk.[140] Another variety is quite black. This, however, becomes quite white when burned. Besides these, gray and yellow clays are found. A sort of yellow earth, rather of an orange tinge is found, of which the Indians, especially the warriors, make a fine color by burning.[141] With this they paint themselves and they are particularly careful that the head shall be always red. It is not too much for the Wiondats to come here to Tuscarawi, a distance of at least a hundred miles, to supply themselves with this red coloring matter.

Concerning plants and roots of medicinal virtue, it would be possible, if one were to devote himself to inquiry, to secure a great deal of information from the Indians, for what one of these does not know another does, each man and woman having some knowledge in this direction, some more, some less. Hence, the custom that a patient who has consulted an Indian and secured a medicine from him without, however, being benefited, will go immediately to another; if no relief is obtained through his advice, the patient goes to a third, a fourth until he finds one whose medicine helps. For many ailments they have very good remedies, e. g., for rheumatism. In respect to this affliction I have witnessed instances where they have effected a thorough cure and not only once or twice. At times they can secure desired results with only two or three kinds of roots, at other times more are required. If a simple remedy does not afford relief, they may use twenty or more kinds of roots. Even in such cases I know of cures having been effected. In treating rheumatism, bathing and sweating play a great part.

They have remedies even for fevers. When a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell from its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine, this is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover. I have paid some attention to this and like cases of treatment and found that the Indians have generally been correct in their

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224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 178 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

584 ●276 No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

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624 ory, experience in the affairs of the state and a knowledge of the formal language employed in council, which differs as much from the common language as does the language used by the whites in legal procedure, from the language of ordinary intercourse.

202 When a message is to be sent, this is entrusted to two or more messengers. One of these is to be the speaker, the others being ready to remind him of anything he might forget. A message is formally entrusted to ambassadors at a meeting of the Council. It is repeated a number of times and the one appointed speaker of the messengers must in turn repeat it several times, until he is able to deliver the message with facility and in proper form. The messengers are then fitted out with necessaries for the journey and dispatched. As the whole of a message is to be delivered verbally, a speaker must be a sensible and reliable man. Young men, destined for such service, are admitted as hearers to the council, where they may learn much. Any one employed as messenger is held in high regard. They must be young men, of great endurance on the march, who will not be stopped by bad weather or high waters. On occasions of extreme importance, as in time of war, messengers may have to be on the march night and day, finding their way in the darkest night on paths that a white man could scarce follow in daytime.

623 The council meetings are as quiet and orderly as if they were acts of devotion. Noises, talking and laughing are not heard, even though the young may be present. All pay strict attention to the speaker. The counsellors are called together by a servant and when they appear, they welcome one another, shake hands and express their joy at meeting. Each brings [276] pouch, pipe and they smoke a considerable amount of tobacco that has been mixed with dried and crushed sumac leaves. [562] Women are never admitted to the council; in matters of public interest they may stand about the house and listen, and they account it an honor when they are admitted, to hand victuals and keep up the fire. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house, for eating and deliberating alternate.

The principal chief, either himself or through a speaker, sets forth the subjects that shall engage the attention of the

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and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[265] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

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it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

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endeavor to bring back a scalp or several scalps to show that he has avenged the rights of his nation.

Across the Mississippi there lives a nation called the Su.[***] They live along the river Su far beyond the Illinois, where there are vast plains without trees and on which wild goats, buffalo and other game graze. As there is no wood, the Indians burn dried buffalo manure. For the winter they provide themselves with peat, which they dry with grass. Their utensils they make of clay and burn them, wherever they may be, for they travel from place to place following game. Their weapons are the bow and arrow. Water being scarce on the plains, they catch the dew for cooking and drinking purposes. For this purpose they use large sponges that grow on the rocks in the rivers. This I have been told by an Englishman who lived sometime in that country. These Indians trade with the Spaniards. I have heard from various sources that the further west one goes the more extensive are the plains.

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Indians usually treat one another with kindness and civility and in their bearing toward one another are modest. They are communicative but thoughtful. Of empty compliments they know nothing. In meeting it is customary to shake hands, greet one another with the friendly title of Father, Older or Younger Brother, Uncle, Cousin, Grand Son, Grandfather and say "I am glad to see you." Sometimes all this is repeated when the guests have been sometime in the house. Expression of greeting through others is hardly customary, occasionally a gift is sent by way of greeting. Greetings are expressed in all sincerity. If sentiments do not correspond to words and forms, the latter are dispensed with. If warriors, going to war or coming from war, when the murderous spirit is on them greet one (I will not say an Indian, for that were nothing unusual, but a white person) one may certainly believe to possess their favor and good grace and need fear no harm, for if they have the least feeling against anyone, they will use no form of greeting. This I know from frequent experience. An Indian carries pouch and pipe with him wherever he goes, for they are indispensable. For state occasions they may have an otter skin

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pouch or a beaver-pouch or one decorated with coral, made by the women. Sometimes they have a buffalo horn, from which a pouch, made possibly of tanned deer-skin, depends. In the pouches they carry tobacco, fire materials, knife and pipe. Sumac is generally mixed with tobacco or sumac smoked without tobacco, for but few can stand smoking pure tobacco. Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that they are liked. When a guest comes into a house, food is placed before him; that comes before anything else. If the guests are from a distance and very good friends, the whole kettle of food is set before them, they are given dishes and spoons and allowed to help themselves first to as much as they wish. The guests having partaken of the food, pass the kettle back to the people of the house. They live very simply. Meat, corn, gruel, corn-bread, are the principal articles of diet.[395] In lieu of meat, various dishes are prepared with corn, or Sopan, milk and butter are used. They like to discuss affairs of state and communicate their opinions. In fact they are more ready to discuss such matters in course of visits than in the Council House, for there they prefer to let the older people speak. Occasionally visits are made with the purpose of discovering the opinions of others; in a chief's home all manner of reports, true and false, furnish material for discussion. The women speak of their work, their plantations, the pouches, bags, baskets, carrying bands they have made, many of them though not all smoking tobacco. Stories are carried by women from house to house; they are so often manufactured that if men, having listened attentively to some tale, hear that it originated with a woman they will give it no credit until confirmed by some more reliable authority.

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796 At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuis*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

[796] A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything.

[796] A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin*, meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst 796 of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve 343 *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These [796] they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they [276] are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

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them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors halted several miles below the town and sent word that they had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the briars and brushwod with oil, wiped the perspiration from their faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a large number of Indians, conducted the embassadors to the town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors. All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief. Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them, covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the Delawares and Cherokees.

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The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians. It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described above, is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers. If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

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or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same signficance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

136 A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows[210] are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe[211] are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull[212] is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover[213] may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,[214] which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill[215] is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.[216] It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk[217] gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees[218] nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps[219] are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel[220] should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

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of the variety required, he does not gather it [11] but performs a ritual to appease the Spirit of the plant. A small hole is dug towards the east near its base and a small quantity of native tobacco [12] placed within. The herbalist then lights his pipe and smokes, meanwhile making the following appeal to the Creator and to the Spiritual forces which govern vegetation. The songs and properties are regarded as personal property and the accompanying medicine-gathering prayer of Wi·tapa·nóxwe is regarded as typical.

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MEDICINE GATHERING PRAYER (free translation)

"Grandfather, I come now for medical treatment. Your grandson (name of suppliant) needs your aid. He is giving you a smoke-offering here of tobacco. He implores you that he will get well because he, your child, is pitiful. And I myself earnestly pray that you take pity on him the sick one, I wish for him to get well forever of that which is causing pain in his body. For with you alone rests the spiritual power sufficient to bless anyone with, and hear now him our Grandfather tobacco, I beg of him that he will help me when we plead with earnest heart that you will take pity on your grandchild and that you will accept this appeal. I am thankful, Grandfather, also Creator, that you grant our appeal this day for all that we ask.[13] I am thankful, Grandfather. That is enough for this time."

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Upon the conclusion of this propitiatory rite the medicine person searches out another plant of the same species, which if clean and healthy-looking, is then gathered. It is now ready to be treated in accordance with the rules governing the preparation of roots and herbs in the accompanying pharmacopeia. If the root of a plant is to be used in making medicine, it is gathered at the season when the vital properties are present; similarly the stalk or leaves each are gathered at the proper seasons.

[11] Harrington (1921, p. 26) in reference to the manitowuck to whom the Indians pray, says, "These are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or preparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco." He also says (p. 51) that, ". . . Some seem to have prayed to the four directions, other to the presiding genius of the species of the plants they sought or to the spirit of the individual plant itself."

[12] "Real tobacco" (Nicotiana rustica), to which a Delaware term meaning, "our grandfather," is also given.

[13] The proper phrase in full is, "give us what we ask for." It is abbreviated here to suit the formula.

Food Preservation and Cooking

Passing to the problem of food preservation, we find that such crops as maize, tobacco and meat were most commonly stored in pits covered over first with bark or grass and then with earth (Lindstrom, p. 253; Johnson, p. 279; Krieger, p. 39; De Rasieres, p. 107). The house was also an important storage place, the food being placed in hemp bags and suspended from the ceiling (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Heckewelder, 1820, p. 370). 251

Maize was used in a variety of ways. According to one author, those stalks that produced no ears were pulled early and the sap sucked from them (De Rasieres, p.107). The ears were either roasted in ashes or boiled. Most of the maize, however, seems to have been pounded or ground into flour and sifted through a basket of the desired coarseness. The finer flour was mixed with lukewarm water, kneaded into dough and made into round, flat little cakes which were baked in hot ashes. The coarser flour was made into porridge (i.e. boiled with water) to which nuts, beans, berries, pumpkin or meat were sometimes added (Penn, pp. 31-32; Lindstrom, p. 254; De Rasieres, p. 107; Danckhaerts, p. 159; Johnson, p. 281; Heckewelder, 1781, pp. 194-96; Loskiel, p. 67). Indeed, there seems to have been almost endless variety in the preparation of these cornflour dishes. 252

The other vegetables were most commonly eaten boiled and, it should be noted, without seasoning except ashes, as the Delaware did not use salt (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Danckaerts, p. 159; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 194; Lindstrom, p. 254). Water was probably the most important beverage known to the Delaware at this time, but fruit juices and water flavored with crushed walnuts or hickory nuts are reported (Johnson, p. 281; Loskiel, p. 74; Kalm, p. 269). Tobacco was always mixed with willow bark or sumac for smoking (Loskiel, p. 73; Speck, 1931, p. 127). [263] 272 276

Manufactures

A wide variety of materials was utilized for cooking equipment. Serving dishes were made of wood, bark, shell, or a cut-off calabash; spoons were of wood or suitably shaped shells. Cups of tortoise shell have also been found (Johnson, p. 281; Harrington, 1913, p. 223; Danckaerts, p. 159; Lindstrom, p. 253; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Skinner, 1915, p. 38). Pottery, which was used for boiling, is found abundantly in Lenape territory. It was made of clay mixed with pounded sea shells, mica or sand and various combinations of these ingredients. The technique used was coiling. Designs consisted of lines and dots, stamped or incised on the vessel. Broken or cracked pieces were mended by lacing through holes bored on either side of the defect (Skinner, 1915, pp. 12 and 13; Heye, pp. 62-66; Abbott, 1875, p. 345; Smith, p. 138; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). 415 323

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262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a
[412] mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hollowed tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
[323] ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut con-
sisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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deerskin called *powäni'gän* which serves as a drum (fig. 10), ample time to repeat the same word in the same tone, which produces an extraordinary effect. When he finishes, the drummers beat rapidly on the dry hide, repeating "*Ho-o-o!*" a number of times.

Then the celebrant repeats a verse of his song in the same way, and the drummers, having learned the words, sing them to a dance tune, beating the drum in slower time. After dancing awhile, the celebrator whoops, and they stop; then another similar verse, if not the same, is recited and then sung,

When the leader dances, he circles about the two fires contra-clockwise, and those who wish may join in the dance and follow him (pl. VI).

His dance finished, the leader passes the turtleshell to the next man who has been blessed with a vision. This one has the privilege of singing his vision if he wishes; if not, it is handed to the next "dreamer." After a celebrant has taken his seat, it is customary for those

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who desire it to smoke until the next man is ready to commence. At this time also it is considered proper for the people to enter or leave the Big House, which is not permitted while the actual ceremony is in progress. When the turtle rattle has thus made the round of the building and gets back to its starting point, the meeting is brought to a close. This is usually along toward morning, the exact time of course being dependent on the number who have sung their visions, and on the length of the intermissions.

CONCLUSION OF RITES

252 796x

Now, when the man who started the ceremonies begins to dance, that is a signal for two of the women *a'ckas*, or attendants, to go out and pound corn for hominy or meal, and two of their men colleagues cook it in the kettle hanging on the pole, so that it is ready when the turtle has made its rounds and the meeting is about to close. Then the repast

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of hominy or corn mush called *sä'pan* is

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When they have finished eating they arrange themselves in a row, each hunter standing on his left foot and barely touching the ground with the toes of his right, an action whose meaning I have not yet been able to determine.

Then the speaker rises and talks to them, and the MIsi'ng[w'] who has been seen about the camp from time to time, is in the Big House listening to his words. "When you hunt," says the speaker, "think of nothing but luck to kill deer." As he speaks he goes to the [276] west fire and throws into it, six times, an [782] offering of native tobacco; then to the east fire, where he sacrifices six more pinches of the sacred herb—twelve in all. While sacrificing tobacco, he prays to the MIsi'ng[w'] to drive the deer up, so that the hunters can kill them. As he drops the last tobacco into the flames, he says, "If you kill a deer right away, bring it in tonight; if not, bring in all you kill day after tomorrow."

What tobacco is left is given to the chief hunter with the words, "When you camp tonight, burn this and ask MIsinghâli'kŭn

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to let you kill deer." The reader will remember that Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, in whose image the Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ is carved, is supposed to have control over the deer, and in fact over all wild animals.

All the hunters that are in the habit of chewing tobacco are now given some for this purpose. When they file out and mount their horses, the Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ follows them and sees them off.

After the hunters have disappeared, the people call the Mĭsi'ng$^{w^t}$ back into the Big House and coax him to dance, while two men volunteer to sing for him.

PRAYER FOR THE HUNTERS

The following evening six men are appointed and given a yard of wampum to divide among them, to go out close to the forked game-pole east of the Big House, intended for the carcasses of the deer, and "pray" there twelve times. The meaning of this, of course, is that they sound the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" which is evidently to help the hunters. This night also a yard of wampum is unstrung

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into it and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones, which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the Indians sing and pray. They deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium and is so worshipped at his will."

That this is really the same ceremony is shown not only by the details as related but by the native name of the rite, the *Machtuzin* of Zeisberger corresponding with the *MuxhatoL'zing* of the present writer.

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PEYOTE RITE

One of the latest of introduced ceremonies, which was still much in favor with the Oklahoma Lenape when last visited by the writer, is the Peyote Rite, a cult

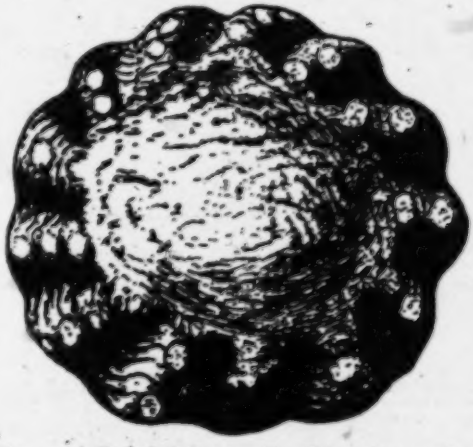

FIG. 19.—Peyote "Button." (Diameter, 1.9 in.)

now widespread among the tribes of the Central West, introduced among this people by an Indian named John Wilson, who obtained it, they say, from the Caddo on Washita river about the year 1890 or 1892. During this ceremony re-

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markable visions are produced by eating the dried top of a small cactus, the *peyote* (fig. 19), for which the cult is named, and these visions, coupled with the moral teachings embodied in the ritual, make it very attractive to the Indian, who, on joining the cult, is often persuaded to discard entirely the ancient beliefs of his own people. The writer is acquainted with two principal forms of the rite, one involving native deities only, the other, almost entirely Christian in teaching and symbolism. It is this latter form which has been adopted by the Lenape, to whom the tipi, in which the ceremony is held, is as foreign an institution as the little cactus itself, brought in from southern Texas and Mexico.

Paraphernalia.—For this ceremony the tipi is erected with the door to the east, and a complex series of symbols arranged inside, as shown in the smaller drawing, pl. IX. On the western side of the lodge is built a crescent-shaped mound, or "moon," of earth, packed hard, its horns turned toward the east, which they

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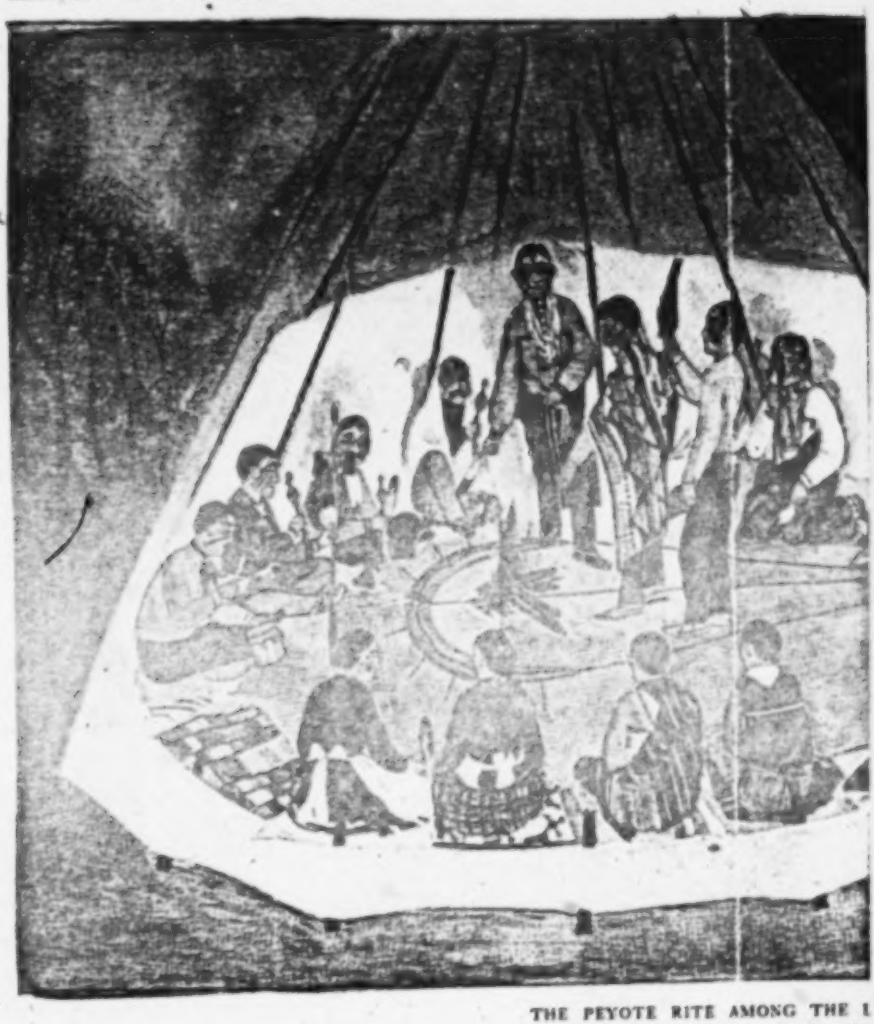

THE PEYOTE RITE AMONG THE L
Native Painting by Earnest Spybuck, a Sha

[Following p. 186 (A)] [IN COLOR]

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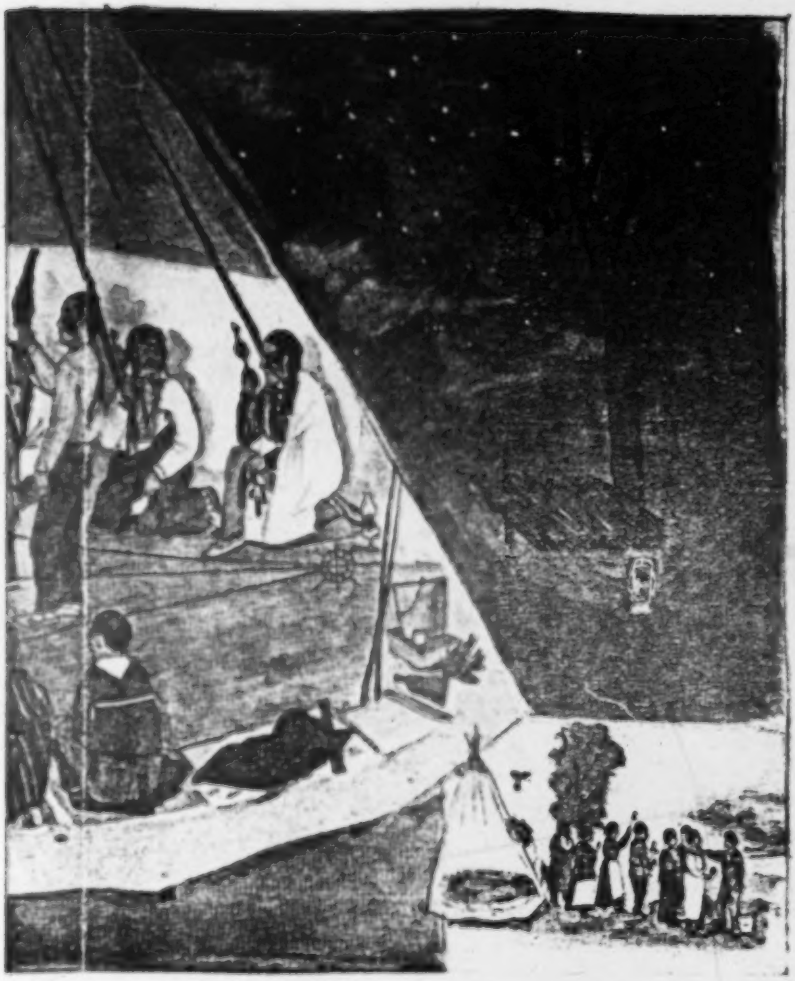

RITE AMONG THE LENAPE
g by Earnest Spybuck, a Shawnee

[Following p. 186 (B)] [IN color]

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say represents the tomb where Christ was buried, and on the center of this is placed a large peyote, dampened and flattened (fig. 19), resting either on a bed of feathers or on the bare earth; and to the west of this again, sometimes a crucifix, as shown in the illustration. Between the points of the crescent is built the fire in a certain prescribed manner with overlapping sticks forming an angle pointing westward. Near the door lies another mound—a round one representing the sun. From the peyote resting on the embankment to the sun mound, directly through the middle of the fire, a line is drawn in the earth of the floor. This represents the "peyote road" along which the Peyote Spirit takes the devotee on a journey toward the sun, and also symbolizes the road to Heaven that Jesus made for the souls of men when He returned thither. West of the crescent-shaped mound stands, when not in use, the highly decorated arrow or staff, frequently made in the form of a long cross, with a groove extending from

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end to end, representing the spirit road. A small water-drum made of a piece of deerskin stretched over a crock, as seen in pl. IX, a nicely carved drumstick, an eagle-feather fan for brushing all evil influence away from each devotee as he enters or leaves the ceremony, and a supply of dried peyote, dampened and crushed in a mortar, are all necessary for the ceremony. Each devotee, moreover, must be supplied with a decorated gourd rattle of his own.

Officers.—The only offieers needed for this rite are a "Road-man" or speaker, who sits in the west, just opposite the door, and a fire guard stationed at the door, whose duty it is to keep the fire burning, and to brush with the feather fan the devotees as they enter. This is illustrated in the colored plate (pl. IX), which represents also the "Road-man" guiding a newcomer to a seat.

Conduct of the Ceremony.—When all are gathered in the tipi, the leader first passes around a fragment herb which the people chew and rub over hands and

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body. Then the macerated peyote is passed, and each takes enough to make eight pellets about half an inch in diameter, of which some eat all, some only part, reserving some pellets to be eaten later. About this time the leader addresses the peyote and the fire, prays, and often delivers a regular sermon or moral lecture. He then takes the staff in his left hand, and sitting, or kneeling on one knee, he sings a certain number of peyote songs, which are a class to themselves, while the man to the left beats the drum, then passes the staff to the person on his right, himself taking the drum while this person sings, and so the staff travels round and round the lodge, each taking his turn at singing, while the devotees, men and women alike, keep their eyes fixed upon the fire or upon the peyote lying on the mound. As the night wears on the "medicine" begins to take effect, and the devotees see many strange visions, pictures, and brilliant-colored patterns. Often one may see the Peyote Spirit, in the form of an old

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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796x

man, who takes his spirit on a wonderful journey along the "peyote road," eastward toward the sun. At daybreak they all file out of the tipi bearing their paraphernalia, as seen in pl. IX, *b*, and when the sun appears they raise their hands in salutation, and then those who are left standing (for some fall as if dead at the sight of the sun) "give thanks to the Great Father in Heaven." Those who fall at sunrise, they say, are the ones who visited the sun in their visions. All sleep, or at least rest, until about noon, when a feast is served, after which everyone tells what he or she saw while "on the peyote road."

The Lenape variant of this ceremony, as related above, differs somewhat from that of other tribes practising the Christian form of the Peyote rite, but in all essentials it is almost identical.

Ghost Dance

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796x

The Ghost dance was also introduced among the Lenape by an Indian named Wilson, about the same time, our infor-

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

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19. INDIAN FAMILY BY LINDESTRÖM. ORIGINAL SIZE; FROM THE *Geographia*.

[facing p. 195]

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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they have their things, such as food, money, tobacco, tobacco pipes, very artistically and well made; also bows and quarrels[8] (like those of the Poles) and helmets made of hard wooden pins and strong wood, that no arrow can go through them. Around their arms at the hands[9] they have brass and tin rings and threaded money, hanging like chains. In their hands they have tobacco pipes an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on, and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco.[10] Around their waists they have tied a broad belt of money, strung in the form of figures, from which their pieces of cloth hang,[11]

[8] *Bågar och skiäcktor (skäckta)*, scutcher, swingle.

[9] *Om armarne wed händerne;* that is the wrist.

[10] *En godh näfwe*, a good handful. "*Hurit Riecko Hopocken*, a beautiful clay pipe. The Barbarians make tobacco-pipes of red, yellow and blue clay, which is found there in the country of fine quality.

Hurit Assacus Hopocken, a beautiful stone pipe. For the Barbarians also make tobacco pipes of white, grey, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are found so soft (*blöta*), that they can be cut with a knife, and from this, pipes half an ell in length are made." Campanius, *Cate.*, 143.

Williams says: "Generally all the Men throughout the Countrey have a Tobacco-bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two foot long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a Man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these commonly come from *Mauquauogs*, or the men eaters, three or four hundred miles from us. They have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes. They take their *Wuttamauog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the Men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe; and yet excesse were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of Beare and Wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe." *Key*, 55. Cf. also Smith, p. 24; De Vries and other early Dutch writers, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 23, etc.

[11] "*Mochequoos*, a Girdle; which they make curiously of one, two, three, foure and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money which (sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more) they weare about their middle and as a scarfe about their shoulders and breasts." Williams, *Key*, 131.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Wares of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yes 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

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[1] *Uthan deres arbete går uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.,* 2, II, 270; *Doc.,* I, 282; Williams, *Key,* 133.
[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.
[3] *Upflicka,* to tear up (!); cf. *flicka sönder,* tear asunder.
[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook,* I, 125, 132; above Chapt. XI, note 7.
[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook,* II, 257 ff.
[6] *Skiöna fällar. Fäll* usually means skins with the fur, fell.
[7] *Dock mycket grenar.*

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnson	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
419. War chief leaves war club at house of enemy chief to show desire for peace						−	−	+	*+	•	−	•
420. Delaware act part of mediators between other tribes						+	+	•	+	•	•	+
421. Terms of peace negotiated				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace—Continued												
422. By village chiefs							+	+	+	+	+	+
423. By council							+				+	+
424. By persons appointed					+	+						
425. Ceremonies at conclusion of peace: Dancing		+				+	+	−	+	−	+	+
426. Feasts						−	*(+)	−	+	*+	+	+
427. Belts exchanged				+		+	+	+	+		+	+
428. Pipe smoked				+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
429. Anything like flags of truce before whites					−	−	−		*+	•	+	•
430. Flags or armorial bearings					−	−	−	•	•	•	−	•
Games												
431. Ball play				+		•	+	+	−	+	−	−
432. Football	+					+	•	•	*+	*+	+	*+
433. Dice game	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Number of colors				2		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
435. Number of dice				6		5-6	6	6	7	6	8	12
436. Cards	*+	*+		+		+		+	−	+	−	*+
437. Quoits				+					−	−	+	+
438. Wrestling				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
439. Racing	+					+		+	+	+	+	+
440. Jumping						+		+	+	+	+	+
441. Hopping						+			+	*+	+	+
442. Lifting stones				+					−	*+	+	+
443. Throwing stones				+					+	+	+	+
444. Shooting and throwing arrows									+	+	+	+
445. Fond of gambling	+	+		+		−		+	s	s	+	+

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

cestors how, so it is said, they sadly pleaded, when, reciting their vision experiences, telling how pitiful were the conditions then in their time said to be. Verily I myself do grieve, my kindred, when I look back there into the past. But, nevertheless indeed, try your utmost, every one have a helpful will, and it might be that our pitiful plea for mercy be heard by him the Great Spirit. We may perchance sometime gain a victory to our benefit.

Truly my kindred, as it is forcibly said, I am oppressed with a feeling of incapability while standing here to instruct anyone in the blessing, here where stands he our Grandfather.[1] And I am truly thankful to bless with gratitude all those spirit-forces, all of them sitting round about us over the entire earth. And when we consider how our deceased ancestors so thoroughly paid attention to the obligations of this prayer-worship! Indeed how great are we privileged and blessed that still we can perform the ceremony as we were accustomed to see our deceased ancestors do it! This is sufficient for this occasion. Thanks!"[2]

Now the leader goes and sits down. When he has properly seated himself and swept it clean[3] then 'these who are painted red'[4] say "Let us all smoke[5] Let us all smoke." So the tobacco has been placed in a wooden bowl and should be mixed with sumac leaves (kinnickinnick[6]), because it is the rule that sumac shall be used by the Delawares when smoking.[7] And besides the cedar[8] and paint are all kept there at one place close to the drum. And when anyone lights the pipe in the Big House, he will then use our Grandfather because that one also is called pure, clean fire.

[1] Indicating his position standing as though sermonizing from a pulpit before the images of the center post.

[2] It should be borne in mind that the speaker is to repeat his performance every night while the Big House ceremony is in session.

[3] Meaning that he has dusted away latent evil potencies with the turkey-wing fan symbols.

[4] Another ceremonial name for the assistant drummer.

[5] The verb here is said to be in the Munsee language aya'xpuek', recalling the traditional Munsee origin of the ceremony. The corresponding Delaware term is hupɔ'tam "Let us smoke." The Delaware term kalakan.i'kan has cognates throughout Algonkian.

[6] The Delaware smoking mixture consists largely of dried sumac (probably Rhus copallina) leaves, which are gathered before the frost strikes them in the fall and singed over an open fire, then exposed to the sun and mixed with smoking tobacco to the proportion of one-third sumac leaves and two-thirds tobacco.

[7] Smoking sumac clear or mixed with tobacco the Delawares regard as a peculiar custom of their own not shared by other peoples (see also Zeisberger, p. 116).

The Delawares were so fond of using this mixture that it is a legendary saying among them that on their hunting or scouting parties they could be identified from afar by the scent they left on the air. Having an earlier equipment with European firearms they were feared by other tribes who avoided them on this account. See also G. Catlin, Letters and Notes, Vol. II, 1841, pp. 101-2.

[8] The sacredness of red cedar (Juniperus virginiana) is a prominent feature of Delaware ceremony (see p. 171).

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

by WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

Texas Memorial Museum

276 Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*) is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

175 A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not 177 until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a 276 new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the 795 demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced some- [21] what later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

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sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

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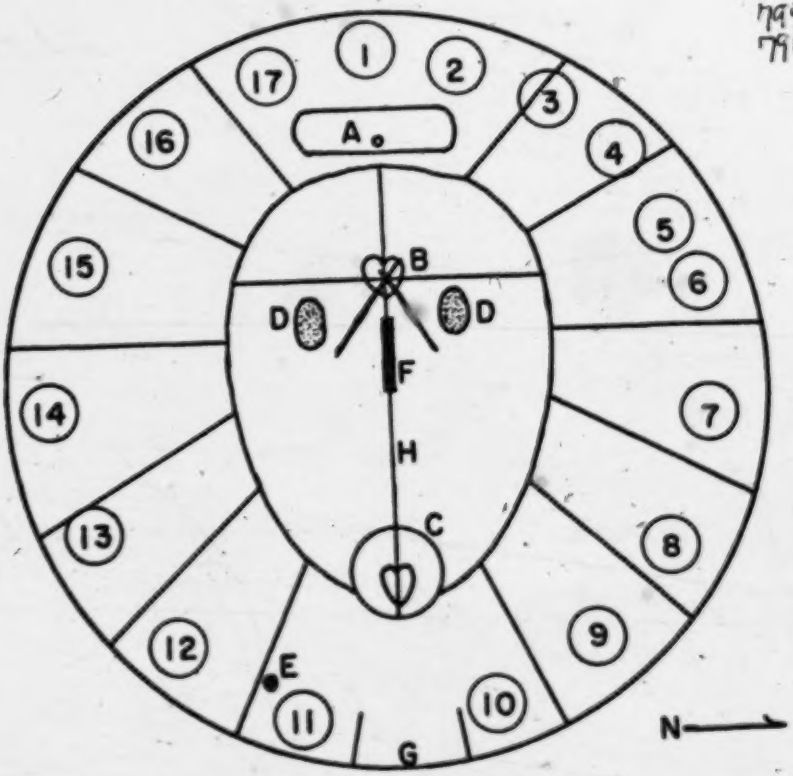
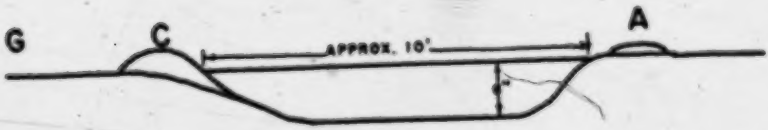
Figure 1



TOP VIEW



ELEVATION

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made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

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with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

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attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening song.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remained essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Moon cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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[P.10, B]

121 zon in order that Minsi material may be separated from artifacts pertaining to earlier occupations. The writer herewith presents what he considers to be a reasonably valid list of elements pertaining to Minsi material culture. This list cannot in the light of our present knowledge pretend to anything approaching final inclusiveness or conclusiveness. It is the 1951 model and all rights to make subsequent changes are reserved.

127 In this list I have, of course, leaned heavily upon Ritchie's Bell-Philhower report as well as my own researches both prior to and following the Bell-Philhower "dig". I would also like to acknowledge much valuable assistance derived from access to the splendid collection of material from Minisink Island in the collection of Mr. Rudolph Ludwig, Milford, Pa.

Ceramics

Pipes

172 ●276 323 So far as the writer has been able to determine, no stone pipes attributable to the Minsi have been found in the upper Delaware area or elsewhere. Pipes of pottery occur, but are not numerous. These pottery pipes may be tubular, effigy, or obtuse—angle elbow. (Plate 1, No. 2). [531] Decoration may consist of pointillé, incised lines, corded stick impressions, or may be absent. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 3, shows pointillé-decorated pipe sherds.)

Vessels

172 415 323 Pottery may be of various Owasco types (Castle Creek Epigonus is rather prominent) with punctuate, corded, platted, and beaded designs of several forms, or of Iroquoian types with incised designs in herringbone and other patterns. Rims often exhibit castellations. (See Plate 2. The sherds in the top row and the sherd at the left in the bottom row exhibit Owasco features. The remainder are primarily Iroquoian in motif.) An excellent description

[P.15, C]

172
276
412
532

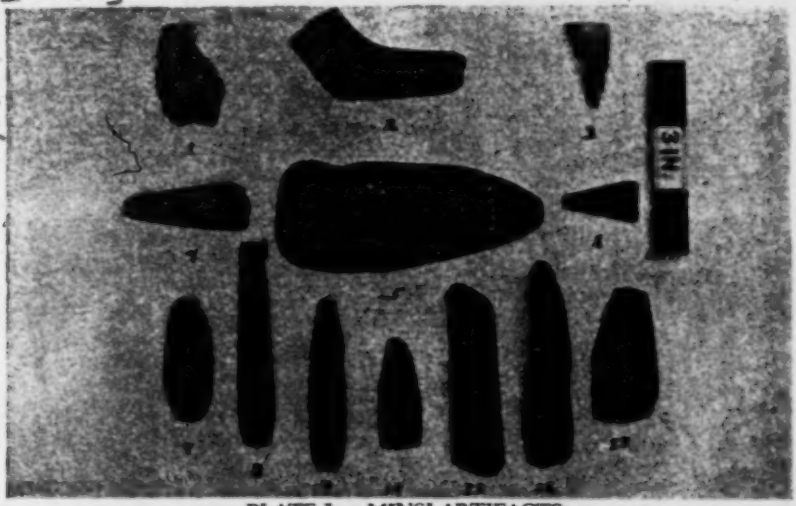

PLATE I. MINSI ARTIFACTS

172
323
531

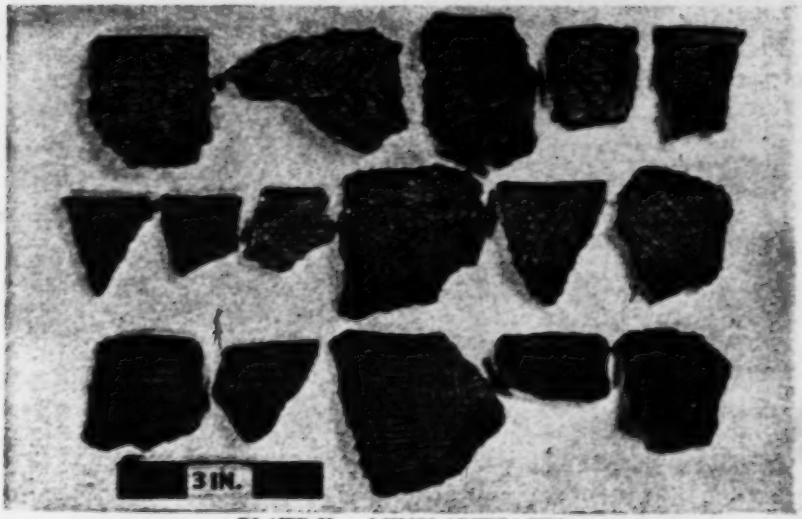

PLATE II. MINSI ARTIFACTS

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6

Delaware NM7●

C
D
171
795
796
534
276

PAYOFF ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Delaware NM7 ●

Element	Occurrence																					
	Tem	Ute	Cha	Gos	Ban	Bid	Pai	Wal	Wih	Mon	Ow	Ow	Ow	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual		°(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	°+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
69. Form cross	+	°+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		°+	+		(+)	°−	+	°+	−		+	+	+	°+	°(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	°+	+	(+)	°+	°+	°+		+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
79. 4 or more assistants		−	°+	−	−	+	°+	°+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	°+	°−	−	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	°+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

C
D
111
1945
196
[1946] ●

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism 109[A]

Element	Occurrence																						
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ap B	Di 1	Di 2	Wa	O 2	O 1	O 2	Ute	Da	Gu	Ar-a	Tse						
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+								
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+								
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++							
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+								
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−								
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+							
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+								
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+								
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+								
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+								
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+								
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+								
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+								
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+								
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−				+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+								
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+								
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+								
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+								
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+								
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+								
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+								
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							

(Continued on next page)

Co
Cr
D
W
171
[276]
[783]

Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																				
	LTr	Ev	Ela	Com	Ela	Ab	Dr	Da	Wa	Oke	Cr	Cr	Ess	Da	Ga	Ar	Tse				
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+					
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+				
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+			+				
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+•(+)		−	+		+	+				
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+		+	+				
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	++	+		
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+		•(+)	+	+	−	+•(+)		+	+				
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−(+)	+	+	−	•+		+	+				
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		+	+				
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+		+	+				
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		+	+				
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+		+	+				
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	+				
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+		+	+				
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	•+		+	+				
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				

(Concluded on next page)

C
D
171
785
796
[276]
[784]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ1D
Delaware NM7 ●

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7 ●

125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "eut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kie: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win: